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## NEW ATMOSPHERE

### — Interview with the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs —

*In answer to a request from our Editorial Board, Koča Popović, the Yugoslav Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, received our Editor on August 27 and answered his questions as follows:*

**QUESTION:** Our readers would be interested to hear your opinion about the present development of the international situation and about the trends which are manifested in this development, particularly in the light of the talks the Foreign Ministers of the four Big Powers had in Geneva.

**ANSWER:** The very fact that the chiefs of the two biggest powers have agreed to exchange visits, that their first meeting will take place in a few days' time, is undoubtedly an event of extraordinary importance. These visits and the summit talks will, as President Tito has said, mark a turn for the better and help to create conditions for the easing of the international situation.

In fact, we already have a new atmosphere, an atmosphere prepared by earlier high level meetings and by the Geneva Conference although this conference did not produce any direct results in questions it had been called to consider. Resistance which comes from various quarters, from negative and obsolete positions, cannot and should not obscure this fact.

This favourable trend of development is the result of the general wish of the world for coexistence and international co-operation, of the persistent efforts made in this direction in and outside the United Nations, and of the awareness of the leaders of the biggest powers that the „cold war“ cannot solve anything, that, on the contrary,

it can lead only to new friction and difficulties for all. The „cold war“, which was increasing international tension, threatened to bring us into a position in which events could no longer be controlled, i. e. it was constantly drawing us nearer to an all-destructive war. As an inherent part of this unfavourable development, there was a tendency to perpetuate and strengthen the policy of „reliance on force“ with all its difficult consequences for relations between the Big Powers, i. e. the blocs and their relations with other countries.

That a better situation has been created, in which there are favourable prospects for development, is very much to the credit of the countries which



are not members of the blocs and which, despite opposing circumstances, had for years been fighting consistently for the establishment of active international co-operation and for the solving of international problems by negotiations, that is, by seeking points of contact and by both sides making concessions rather than accusations. The present development of the world situation, although it has not yet been consolidated, shows that all those who maintained that favourable progress of international relations was both possible and essential for the interests of peace, were in the right.

One of the chief problems which must be approached if a lasting improvement in international relations is desired is the problem of gradual disarmament. The recent past has shown that it will not be possible to make any real progress in this field unless some degree of confidence and a certain amount of tolerance are established between the leading powers of the two blocs. If the present favourable trends continue, if tolerance is established between the Big Powers, people will be justified in expecting new possibilities for progress in this field, that is, in disarmament. Many elements and aspects of this complex problem, which were both apparently and actually insoluble when there were threats of war, will gradually appear in a new light; they will slowly acquire a new place and more realistic proportions and significance in world affairs if and when they are extracted from their earlier negative context and viewed in relation to the prospects of maintaining and consolidating world peace. It will then be possible also to reach beneficial solutions. The same holds true for other international problems as well.

In any case, the basic criterion by which the constructiveness of any policy should be judged is whether it promotes or retards positive moves and initiatives which are now under way. From the point of view of general interest, the greatest possible support should be given to these moves and initiatives because they are just beginning and because further progress will be neither fast nor easy. Such support should help to establish constructive co-operation between the Big Powers and turn this co-operation into a means and an inherent part of general co-operation in the world — towards the security and equality of all countries,

in accordance with the United Nations Charter.

*QUESTION: What, in your opinion, can be expected of the coming exchange of visits and talks between Premier Khrushchev and President Eisenhower?*

*ANSWER: I would not like, and I am not in a position, to make any definite forecasts. I can only repeat that we hope that these visits and talks will mark that turn for the better about which President Tito has talked.*

*QUESTION: A number of important problems will be debated at the forthcoming meeting of the United Nations General Assembly. What problems, in your opinion, should be given priority so as to promote peace, and what role should the World Organization play in solving such problems?*

## Current Topics

# Meetings between the Two

by Dr Aleš BEBLER

THE MEETINGS between Eisenhower and Khrushchev, the Presidents of the USA and USSR, will soon be taking place first in Washington and a few weeks later in Moscow.

The world press, naturally, is already filling its columns with news of the preparations for the visits of the two statesmen and with articles conjecturing on the topics and possible or probable results of the talks. Few of them try to estimate the importance of the actual fact that direct contacts and talks between the heads of governments of the USA and USSR have come about. Even when such attempts are made, as a rule — it seems to me at least — this fact is underestimated. It is very often treated just as sensation, as something unheard of and exciting, as a great risk for one side (part of the Western press) or as a great tactical success for the other (part of the Eastern press).

However understandable such underestimation may be, it cannot deceive the sincere and deeply peace-loving majority of public opinion in the world which feels that something very important has begun to happen in international relations, something for which they have been hoping for years and for which the forces for

ANSWER: It seems to me that the most important problems on the agenda of the General Assembly will be disarmament, permanent suspension of nuclear tests, assistance to underdeveloped countries, and Algeria. In the solving of the problem of disarmament and of other important matters for which the United Nations is undoubtedly best qualified, we do not consider that, under present circumstances, the role of the Organisation will be lessened. Tense relations between the Big Powers have so far been the main obstruction to the successful work of the United Nations. But, if these relations are improved, it will be easier for the United Nations to play the role for which it was formed.

peace have been very actively working for years.

The United States of America and Soviet Russia are the two greatest powers in the world today. Each of them stands at the head of one of the two blocs into which a great part of humanity is divided. In each of these two blocs they are the chief military power. They supply with arms the armies of the other members of the bloc. In each of the blocs they have developed to the greatest extent the technology for making the most destructive new weapons. Thus the cold war depends to a very great extent just on the arm race between these two great powers.

And so: these two powers are exchanging visits on the level of heads of government, for the first time since the war (and for the first time ever); for the first time since the war thorough talks are taking place on troubled relations in order to improve them.

The principle of the need, in relations between countries, to persist in seeking compromise solutions, the basic principle in the conception of active and peaceful co-existence, is beginning to be applied in the relations between the USA and USSR.



Can one underestimate this fact? Isn't it allowed to say that — whatever the immediate, practical results of the talks in Washington and Moscow — it is a turning-point in method; that itself it represents the beginning of a new era, the beginning of the era of seeking agreement between the USA and USSR by means of the most effective method, the method of direct talks between the most responsible personalities.

An intelligent western paper, the Paris "Express", one of the few which do not underestimate the importance of the Eisenhower-Khrushchev meeting, analysed in a recently published editorial the reasons for which a turning-point and stressed primarily the fact that atomic and hydrogen bomb warfare is absurd, and, as for this reason it is impossible, we must negotiate. We agree. But we and people like those writing in the "Express" have been asserting this for ages. But meetings we were calling did not take place and new weapons and new bases were made. It is, then, obvious that something more was needed than the fact that warfare with the new weapons would be suicide for all participants. All the consequences of this fact had to be understood and had to enter the conscience of the people and statesmen and the latter had to start to act.

It seems that we have gone a long way along that road. Public opinion, — at least the majority of it — in all countries has accepted the idea of the necessity for negotiations. It is no accident that the American press was unanimous to a great extent in its opinion that Vice-President Johnson's chances for presidential candidature were very much improved by his visit to the USSR and his part in the preparations for the meetings between the two heads of government. The success of the Soviet exhibition in New York and the American exhibition in Moscow is no accident, etc., etc.

The actions of the statesmen express a mood and it will spread even further. The exchange of visits of the heads of government will represent to public opinion not only the wish and the desire for agreement but also the belief that such agreement is possible. And this is a great step forward.

It would of course be of immense significance if the meetings between two heads of government also led to practical results. I mean to some practical-realized compromise solution on one of the disputed questions, such as for example the method of controlling test explosions of atomic and hydrogen weapons which would make possible the cessation of such experiments. According to the opinion of British experts who are taking part in the Geneva conference on nuclear tests and with whom I had the opportunity of talking this summer in London, such an agreement is within reach. And such an agreement would

justify in the eyes of the whole world the method of direct contacts and talks between statesmen of the interested powers. Its moral and political effect would be beyond imagination. With it one could put into practice the process of atomic disarmament. The third atomic (and hydrogen) power, Britain, apparently is ready in advance to throw off the burden of competing in these most expensive weapons. The remaining candidates for such armaments, France and China, would thus be placed under great moral pressure to follow her example.

If such results were gained in the above-mentioned and perhaps in some other disputed question, then the turning-point in method could lead to a turning-point in the development of international relations. It could become: the beginning of the end of the cold war.

When we estimate the very fact of the meeting of the two presidents in this way, we are by no means in contradiction with our conception of the equality of all countries, large and small, nor are we in contradiction with our conception that the existence of blocs and bloc policy is the greatest obstacle to a lasting peace.

Our conception of the equality of all countries never meant the denial of the fact that there exist real differences, not only in the size and strength of countries but also differences in the responsibility

for peace and differences in capabilities for strengthening peace. In this sense — regarding responsibility and capabilities — the rôle of the great powers, and especially of the greatest powers, is far more important than the rôle of the smaller countries could be. It is most important to preserve peace. In that sense, agreement between the greatest powers on questions in which their agreeing is essential for all people is certainly a positive step and must be welcomed without reservation.

As far as blocs are concerned, it will be useful for us on this occasion to repeat what we have often said before: that co-existence of blocs is not a real and permanent coexistence. Besides the arms race, their existence is a main feature of the cold war. But if the arms race were stopped, as is made possible by the newest development in relations between the USA and USSR, then a great step forward would be taken. Coexistence between the two blocs would be realized and this would be a step towards the realization in the future of a real and full coexistence, one without the division of the world into blocs.

However one looks at the situation, there are plenty of reasons for optimism, which give the fighters for peace and a just and democratic international organization strength and stimulus for further efforts.

## Meeting in Monrovia

by N. NIKŠIĆ

FROM August 4 to 8, representatives of the countries of Africa, with the exception of South Africa which has a policy contrary to the spirit of Bandung and the general trends of African solidarity, held a conference in Monrovia, the capital of Liberia. The decisions and political plans made at this conference will cause it to be noted down as the most important affirmation of the independent political policies of the African states up to the present time. By its discussions on the problems of the region in the spirit of the principles formulated at the Accra conference last year, this meeting marked a great step forward in the political development of Africa and the maturing of the countries of the "black continent" into responsible and progressive members of the international community.

The decisions reached in Monrovia were related to the principal current problems of Africa, which to a considerable extent is still under the domination of the colonial powers. This is quite natural and

understandable, considering that the needs, demands and rights of the African nations are still under-estimated in the policies of the responsible powers outside Africa, and the matter of liberation and emancipation of this continent demands, today more than ever before, collective, unanimous action from all the countries of this region. Conscious of their own responsibility in this respect, the representatives of nine African states acted very wisely in taking the initiative into their own hands and, immediately before the United Nations session and the important talks between the great powers, unanimously and jointly drawing attention to the demands and burning problems of Africa. By this they showed a high degree of maturity, in spite of the many differences which divide them in various spheres of life. If the significance of this pan-African initiative is to be seen as completely as possible, it must be pointed out that the level of real independence of the participating countries, which have so to speak just stepped on



to the road of independence, is not equal; some of them are bound to a third power by individual ties which are not always in accord with their real national and African aspirations and needs. Under the influence of their colonial past and confronted with great difficulties in their efforts to create the elementary conditions for constructing a modern social and economic system, some of these young countries accepted foreign aid under conditions which have made their independent political orientation more difficult. However, it is very significant that they have at this time gathered sufficient courage and wisdom to subordinate their internal divergencies to African interests as a whole, and to take on themselves responsibility and effort for the cause of independence and progress on their own continent.

It is not surprising that the principal resolution of this conference was the demand for an urgent and peaceful solution of the Algerian problem. The formation of an independent Algeria would mean the fulfilment of the natural and moral rights of a nation, as well as a great contribution to the stabilization of peace and relations in Africa. France will commit

a fatal error if she disregards the formula proposed in Monrovia, for among all the proposals up to now it appears the mildest, and at the same time the ultimate limit beyond which the African countries and Algeria cannot go. In addition to other demands in favour of the African nations still living under various forms of dependence and colonial systems, the participants in the conference voted unanimously against the intention of France to carry out nuclear weapon experiments on African territory.

In proposing solutions to the problems of their region in the spirit of a mature, positive and independent policy, the African countries have once again proved that they are quite conscious of their obligations towards the people of free and colonial Africa and that they are capable of managing their own affairs and contributing in a constructive way to the creation of a better democratic international system. It must be expected that their opinion in these serious days will gain greater understanding from those powers which still live under the illusion that the old state of affairs on the soil of Africa can be preserved or brought back.

Italy belongs to a political bloc and Yugoslavia is an uncommitted country; also hampers the establishment of close relations between the two countries. We consider that this argument cannot be sustained either. The guiding principle of Yugoslavia's foreign relations is the policy of active co-existence, and, in accordance with this policy, adherence to political blocs need not prevent the establishment of good relations between states, particularly not between states in political blocs and those which are not committed, as shown by Yugoslavia's close relations both with non-aligned countries and with states in blocs, regardless whether they are in the East or in the West. Furthermore, Yugoslavia does not believe that there should be any discrimination between states. On the contrary, she holds that everything possible should be done to promote co-operation between states in opposing blocs.

c) It is also said that disagreements occur between Italy and Yugoslavia because their foreign policies are based on different conceptions. In this respect, too, Yugoslavs hold that, in spite of the closer co-operation can be developed between Yugoslavia and Italy, and that generally, differences in foreign political conceptions should not be a reason for any division of states, particularly between the United Nations member states whose aims are based on the Charter. The principles of the Charter are liberal enough, and within their framework, close co-operation can be established between neighbouring countries on the principle that every state has the right to independence and, consequently, to independent political views and action within the scope provided by the Charter.

Respect of the principles of the United Nations Charter makes it possible for Yugoslavia and Italy to benefit by the elements of association. Thus, the policy of active co-existence, which is pursued by Yugoslavia, enables Italy and Yugoslavia to continue developing their mutual relations on the basis of their interests and their wish to help preserve and consolidate peace in the world. Since Italian and Yugoslav economies are complementary, both countries find it in their interest to advance their economic co-operation. Furthermore, the proximity of the two markets is yet another element which stimulates closer co-operation, particularly now that the territorial question between the two countries has been solved. The existence of national minorities in both countries should, likewise, be an element of rapprochement, and not an element of discord. Finally, the tradition of contacts between Italy and Yugoslavia shows that there are certain psychological elements which constitute a living force in the two countries' relations. This force came to particular expression during the Second World War, when Italian resistance forces in Yugoslavia found ways and means

## International Relations of FPYR

# Development and Further Prospects for Yugoslav-Italian Co-operation

by Dr Milan BARTOS

RELATIONS between Yugoslavia and Italy are improving from day to day, and there is a tendency to adjust them to the real needs of the two countries. This, no doubt, is the result of the efforts made by political leaders and of the support which such efforts receive from economic factors and the masses. However, Yugoslav-Italian relations are not yet as good as we, the Yugoslav intellectuals, would like them to be; in our opinion, they do not yet fully correspond to the interests of our countries. Undoubtedly, there are some objective reasons, together with certain remnants of the past which both countries are now endeavouring to remove, that are preventing a faster development of these relations. However, there are certain matters which are said to be an obstacle to the two countries' closer co-operation, with which we do not

agree. Here we shall discuss some of them briefly.

a) *Different social systems.* As far as we, Yugoslavs, are concerned, differences in social systems are not an obstacle to good international relations. We believe that every nation has the right to choose its own social and political system, and that other states have no right to interfere in such a matter. We, consequently, hold that any two states with different social systems can co-operate very successfully, provided that they respect each other. Yugoslavia's relations with states with different social and political systems shows that such differences are not, and need not be, an obstacle to co-operation. Our close co-operation with Ethiopia, the United Arab Republic and Greece is the best proof of this.

b) People often say that the fact that



joining the Yugoslav forces in the struggle against fascism.

Cultural contacts have also influenced co-operation between Italy and Yugoslavia. It would be wrong to say that a policy of separation has been pursued in Yugoslav-Italian relations. Great results have been achieved by the two countries since the London Agreement on Trieste was concluded, and it may be said that conditions have been created for still broader and more extensive mutual relations. The development of the two countries' relations is progressing steadily. The support of Yugoslav-Italian co-operation may, perhaps, be satisfied with the pace of this development, but if they were to view carefully everything that has already been achieved, they would have to admit that big strides ahead have been, and are being, made in all spheres of activity.

In addition to the improvement of the general atmosphere in Yugoslav-Italian relations, good results have been achieved lately. Since the conclusion of the Trieste Agreement, Italy and Yugoslavia have made more than 70 agreements and conventions on various matters connected with their mutual life. This alone shows that serious problems in their relations are being gradually solved, and that their co-operation is being developed without difficulties. Relations between the two countries are particularly well developed in the field of economy. The value of their trade is growing from year to year. In the last two years, for instance, the value of trade in both directions reached record level of 130 million dollars annually. In addition to regular trade agreements, some time ago credit agreements were concluded under which Yugoslavia is to purchase a large quantity of investment goods in Italy. These credits amount to about 50 million dollars, and their repayment will certainly necessitate larger Yugoslav exports to Italy, which means that the two countries' trade will be raised to a higher level. Other important economic arrangements between the two countries are agreements on technical co-operation. The experience of Italian technology and science will certainly be of great value to Yugoslavia's young and developing industry. At present, there are more than twenty agreements by which Yugoslav and Italian firms co-operate in the production of various articles.

The problem of fishing in the Adriatic has, for a long time, been the cause of disputes in Yugoslav-Italian relations. The recent agreement on fishing, however, regulates this problem on a realistic basis, thus promoting good-neighbourly relations in the Adriatic. We expect that still closer co-operation in this field will be developed when Italy and Yugoslavia start implementing the third Geneva Convention (1958), under which they are to regulate fishing jointly, not only in each other's territorial waters, but also in the open seas of the Adriatic.

That ordinary people support good relations between Italy and Yugoslavia is shown by the implementation of the agreement on frontier traffic, by which people in the frontier regions of both countries crossed the frontier six million times last year. About a million people have permits to cross the frontier daily — anywhere along the entire length of the frontier line — in order to sell their products at nearby markets. These are the people who are most interested in good relations between the two countries, and their day-to-day activities show that they are in favour of the closest possible co-operation between them. Nowhere else in Europe are so many frontier crossings made or is such extensive frontier traffic recorded as between Italy and Yugoslavia. This shows that differences in the social systems do not obstruct either personal or individual contacts between the citizens of the two countries.

The minority problems are undoubtedly difficult and often cause disputes between our countries. But if the Minority Statute attached to the London Agreement on Trieste is faithfully implemented in both countries, and if the mixed committees continue their friendly actions, the minorities will become an element of rapprochement between our countries.

Cultural relations between our two countries will certainly play an important role in the future. The Yugoslavs are fully aware of Italy's cultural standard; they are well informed of the achievements of Italian science, literature and art. Now efforts should be made to enable the Italian masses to acquaint themselves with Yugoslavia and her culture. However, there

are still some difficulties in this field; such as the unwillingness of Italian authorities to return certain works of art and other cultural wealth transferred from Yugoslavia to Italy during the war, the attitudes of some chauvinistic elements, etc. Well-meaning Yugoslavs and Italians should now use all the means at their disposal to forge stronger cultural links between the people on the two sides of the frontier by truthful exchanges of information and direct contacts. Scientific and social organizations of both countries should follow the example set by sportsmen. Conditions should be created for the spontaneous development of co-operation in this field so as to prevent any weakening when normal relations come to be maintained by institutions and the masses themselves instead of by official initiative.

We are far from having exhausted all the possibilities of co-operation. There are gaps that must be filled in all fields. Economic co-operation is still insufficiently developed. We have not yet exploited all the possibilities for co-operation in industry. Our cultural relations are still in their initial phase of development, although there are good possibilities for co-operation. Generally speaking, contacts between the two nations, particularly in tourism, are far below the level at which they should be. As a result, people in all fields of endeavour, in all spheres of scientific, cultural and social life, should try to eliminate the obstacles created in the past, to look into the future frankly and sincerely, endeavouring to forget what was, at one time, unnatural in the two countries' relations.

## Yugoslavia and Latin American Countries

— After the Visit of a Yugoslav Good-will Mission —

by N. DUBRAVČIĆ

THE Yugoslav Good-Will Mission, led by Vladimir Popović, member of the Federal Executive Council which spent nearly two months in the countries of Latin America, has enabled Yugoslavia to become better acquainted with the people of this region and has served to bring closer together the people of Yugoslavia and those of Latin America. The interest of Yugoslavia in these distant places, in their development and problems, is not only a result of her general policy of equal and peaceful co-operation with all nations long-

ing for peace and progress but also of the wish expressed on both sides to set up and extend various forms of practical co-operation. During their journey the members of the Mission found the same readiness on the part of the leaders of those countries to put their relations with Yugoslavia on a wider basis and enrich the nature of these relations. This was particularly the case in the countries in the region of the Caribbean Sea and the northern belt of Latin America, where we had previously had no significant connections.



During the fifty-one days spent by the Yugoslav Mission on this subcontinent, it paid official visits to Mexico, Costa Rica, Honduras, the Antilles, Cuba, Haiti, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru and Bolivia, and held unofficial talks with representatives of the state, political, economic and public life of the two large nations of Argentina and Brazil. The members of the Mission were welcomed everywhere hospitably and cordially, and in direct contact with the leaders of states and responsible ministers considered the possibilities for strengthening and widening political and diplomatic relations, and economic, cultural and technical co-operation. As a direct result of these talks, it is expected that diplomatic relations will be set up with Peru and Haiti, while Cuba and Ecuador, with whom diplomatic relations already exist, will exchange accredited representatives with Yugoslavia, and Venezuela will open a diplomatic mission in Belgrade. Regarding economic exchanges the Mission was able to confirm the vital interest of those countries in extending their economic connections beyond the limits of the two Ameri-

cas. As Yugoslavia is a very suitable partner for Latin America because of the nature of exchanges and the conditions of equality, the intention was expressed on both sides of signing economic agreements and cultural and other conventions with those countries with whom there had been none previously.

As an independent, peace-loving and uncommitted country, Yugoslavia feels the greatest sympathy for the efforts of the Latin American nations to extract themselves from backwardness and gain a place of equality in the international community. The whole of this huge region is today in the course of a dynamic process of awakening and revolutionary acts attempting to attain their internal transformation, real independence and an equal voice in world affairs. This process is often accompanied by eruptions and earthquakes, but the basic characteristic of this turbulent stream is given by the efforts, sometimes painful and desperate, to put the Latin American countries on the road of modern industrial progress and free them from being a raw-material source bound to their powerful

neighbours. Being faced with numerous difficulties and resistance mostly from abroad these countries are still succeeding in opening the way towards progress and emancipation, and, naturally, they are trying to penetrate into the world outside, seeing not without reason the guarantee of widening of economic and other forms of co-operation with countries outside the American hemisphere.

The determined orientation of Yugoslavia towards a policy of coexistence and her firm position outside any bloc, have a great attraction for the countries of Latin America, for which peace and stability in the world are also a primary necessity. Only in a longer period of peace will they be able to devote themselves to the speedy solution of their economic and social problems. This similarity, of aims and efforts — towards peace and progress in conditions of independence — make a real and wide basis for developing relations of friendship and ever more fruitful co-operation between Yugoslavia and the Latin American peoples.

## VIEWS AND OPINIONS

### Notes on an Anniversary

#### — Development and Problems of the United Arab Republic —

by Josip DJERDJA

ON JULY 23rd. the United Arab Republic celebrated the seventh anniversary of the coming to power of President Nasser following the overthrow of the feudal monarchical regime. Even if a little late this would seem a suitable occasion for a review of the development and a survey of what has been achieved in a country which, under Nasser's leadership, has carved for itself an enviable position in the world and which also maintains its place among the many friends of our own country.

It might be as well to draw attention at the outset to the fact that the Cairo revolution has been marked down in history as the beginning of a new era in the development of the Arab World, and, perhaps more accurately, as the turning point which started the eastern part of that world along the broad path of contemporary life. With the revolution, there was initiated on the one hand a relatively speedy and radical liquidation of backward relationships and obsolete institutions inside the country. At the same time it clearly inspired a process of awakening in neighbouring countries and in the African colonies. Tribal and feudal relations within the country and around it which served as a prop for the foreign grasp on the country, a grasp which was maintained thanks largely to its coalition with internal forces that were opposed to movements of progress and liberation, formed the framework

in which this process originated and developed. But at the same time this framework was bursting — the whole of Africa and Asia which has long been the stage of a great transformation was urging forward the Arab world as part of its own heritage.

Even before the changes in Cairo there were attempts at movements in various Arab countries and regions, which aimed at improving upon the old situation and relationships but the regularly failed, and are generally remembered as short-lasting episodes. The success of the Cairo revolution is to be explained, it seems, by the fact that the broader general conditions were more mature and more favourable than they have hitherto been. But an even more important, in fact the primary reason, was that the revolution was carried out in an organised and radical fashion taking by storm one of the principal if not the principal fortress and position in the very centre of the outdated system, whilst, hitherto the blow was struck at outlying points of secondary importance where it was easier for the revolutionary movements to be isolated and consequently suppressed. The new regime in Cairo, in the situation that then prevailed in the Arab World, was welcomed by the Arab peoples as their own, as the initial phase of their own liberation. This strongly influenced the maintaining in power and strengthening of the new regime, particularly in the days





reign conflict and struggles against plots from abroad on the part of those who feared that the revolution would have repercussions in the rest of the Arab World. In this connection the fact that that world now presents a very different if yet complete picture from the one it presented before 1952 speaks largely for itself. There would be no practical significance in our entering here into the social and political nature of the regime that was formed after the revolution. Any attempt to classify it into one of the customary schemes would meet with difficulties. Apart from any other reasons for this, the regime is of an extremely dynamic nature both in its activities and in its internal structure and degree of maturity. A short account of what has so far been undertaken inside the country together with the refreshing development through which the country has passed in the last seven years could serve as a foundation on which to form definite conclusions, particularly in view of the role that the country has so far played in the Middle East and the place it could carve for itself tomorrow in the modern world.

Among the first measures of the new regime was the establishment of a republic with the accompanying reforms that inevitably follow that act today in similar conditions. Of these, worthy of mention are the agrarian reform and the liquidation of a whole range of feudal appendages and institutions from social and political life. Despite the fact that this is incomplete, agrarian reform is a significant aspect of the general transformation of the country. The problem of land-tenure has not been solved with the agrarian reform. This is a particularly complex question for Egypt — or rather the UAR — and much more very thorough agrarian reform will be necessary if a solution is to be found to this problem. Nevertheless, what has been achieved so far has considerably influenced the reduction of other obstacles which could have hindered further development in the country.

In the last few years by means of various special individual measures almost an entire system of state control over the economy has been built up and directed, by modern planning methods, towards the building up of a progressive, modern and stable national economy. The only way in which the process of building up such an economy can be completed within the shortest possible time, the only way of making good the neglect of decades and getting into step with the rest of the developed world is to keep it within the firm grasp of the state as both the administrator and a direct economic actor.

In the political field all foreign positions and bases which enabled foreign presence and interference, thereby restricting the sovereignty of the country and her freedom of action have been eliminated. The military Canal base has been liquidated and the 1954 Treaty was scrapped, whilst by nationalising the Canal and creditably extricating itself from the crisis at the end of 1956 the regime ensured for the country complete sovereignty and freedom of action, complete formal and actual independence.

Simultaneously a modern state and administrative machine is being built up. The measures that have been undertaken in the year in the field of decentralisation, planning and administration, the gradual introduction of a system of local government together with the resolute formation of a nationwide political movement — the National Union — to serve as an active factor in the government and policies of the country should lead to the construction of a system based on the proclaimed principles of the regime: that it sprung from the people, works for the people and is answerable to the people.

The nature of the latest measures and plans that have been undertaken or are in project show that a socialist democratic and co-operative social system, which, according to Nasser and his colleagues, is the only possible system for the country in view of its specific conditions which is at the

same time in harmony with modern development and tendencies in the world, is being built up.

These are the foundations on which the foreign policy of the country has been evolved over the last few years. This policy is guided by a clear, if still incomplete conception of national and general Arab politics such as would best correspond to the present-day situation: complete adherence to the Bandung Conference independent of power blocs, with the aim of bringing about active coexistence among nations, and with specially strong emphasis on pan-Arab co-operation and solidarity. In view of the special relations inside the Arab community and relations in the world of today, this strongly regional emphasis could not have any harmful effect on a consistent participation with independent nations outside the Arab world. On the contrary, a rapprochement among the Arab peoples and united action on their part would increase their contribution to the general cause, giving at the same time, greater weight to the policies and activities of each individual Arab nation.

By developing along these lines, in the course of seven years Egypt — the UAR — has gone so far and has made events move so fast in the Middle East that she is now an important symbol of independence and stability throughout the whole area, drawing it away from foreign influences and setting it on the course towards neutralism and independence. In this connection, of particular interest is the policy of this young republic in recent months since the undertaking of widespread moves for the improving of disturbed relations with certain Arab and non-Arab countries in the area. At the same time, as far as the internal problems of the country are concerned, the attempts of the regime to find a method to prevent the progressive processes from being halted and ensure their full continuity — without which many results that have already been achieved might have been called in question — show that this is a matter of planned preorientation which must have corresponding results.

## II

AS FAR as the aims and purposes of her national policy are concerned Egypt (the UAR) has passed through a series of phases the most important of which are the period from the revolution to the Suez crisis and from the end of the crisis to the present day. If 1952 noted the beginning then the end of the Suez crisis in November 1956 marked the conclusion of the first phase which was devoted primarily to realising basic national aspirations.

The revolution of 1952 was inspired by the situation inside the country and her foreign relations, by the fact that she was in practice little more than a colony. The appearance of a new regime and the measures it undertook in the direction of complete emancipation provoked similar repercussions throughout the area. This, in turn, called forth resistance from the great powers who had lost or were in danger of losing numerous important positions in and around Egypt. Throughout the years the situation was that tension increased and there was a continual threat of clash and explosion. When, in 1952, Cairo took the great step of ordering arms from the East, announcing at the same time that her policy was moving inevitably along broad new tracks, the latent crisis sharpened to such a degree that things could have burst into flame at any moment. By this move Cairo particularly hit at and destroyed the system sanctioned by the Three-Power Declaration of 1950 which was based on the political monopoly of the West in the Near East.

The nationalization of the Suez Canal in 1956 and the arrival of the Suez crisis finally did lead to a clash, but not so much because of the Canal itself or over the Canal. For their own particular reasons, the great powers affected came to the conclusion that they could not wait or postpone the reckoning any longer and judged that the pro-



blem of the Canal would be the most fertile soil on which to provoke a general battle with Cairo with the aim of putting a stop to the developments which had been initiated in that area and forcing a return to the old state of affairs. By force of circumstances, firstly because of the unexpected resistance shown by Egypt and the other Arab countries and secondly due to the also probably unexpected resistance and action taken by the United Nations, the armed conflict was brought to a stop in November 1956 and the crisis drawn to a close with complete affirmation of Egyptian aims and rights. The defeat of the policies of the colonial countries on this occasion did not involve merely the loss of the Canal or even just defeat in a single battle; it involved the snapping of the already cracked spine of the colonial system in the Near East. After this things moved on irrevocably and at an increased rate, throwing the doors open to the liberation movement. The failure of the well-known „Doctrine“ introduced shortly after the end of the Suez crisis served only to complete this picture and to extend the failure of Western policy as a whole in this area.

This situation, which came about of its own accord, resulted in the complete realisation of Egypt's national aspirations. At about the same time and probably logically as a result of the development of the situation, the problem of inter-Arab relations entered very strongly and very clearly into the fore-ground. The earlier struggles had been waged under the slogan of Arab nationalism which, during the Suez crisis showed itself tenaciously in the form of wide Arab solidarity against aggression and colonialism. After Suez the idea of Arab nationalism penetrated throughout the Arab world, giving vital importance to the question of inter-Arab relations and posing Arab politics with the problem of the practical significance of this idea and the practical consequences of such relations in the area.

The Union between Syria and Egypt gave a special impulse to this question bringing it even further into the fore-ground. In February 1958, these two independent Arab nations put this ideal into practice voluntarily and in complete unity, creating in this way a definite precedent for the interpretation of the practical meaning of Arab nationalism. The problem was brought even more clearly to the fore by the Baghdad revolution of July 14th, 1958, when the other large nation of the Arab East pulled itself out of the grasp of foreign control and, broadly speaking, started on the road on which Egypt had started in 1952. This resulted in the breaking up of the Baghdad Pact which had been the principal instrument of foreign politics for the subjection of the Arabs. Second to the Cairo revolution the changes in Baghdad were the hardest and final blow to the policy of „divide and rule“ in that area and so concluded the process started six years earlier in Cairo. Even if there are still some foreign bases of one kind or another in a number of outlying Arab areas these are without practical importance and are largely the relics of a waning past. Their elimination depends, above all, on the ending of the rivalry and disharmony between the Arabs of the East.

Generally speaking, the changes in Baghdad undoubtedly produced the basic conditions essential for the general emancipation of the Arab East and the consolidation of Arab independence and inter-Arab co-operation. The Arab League, which, although incomplete, had shown itself as a potentially adequate instrument of the Arab cause found itself confronted with new and more extensive possibilities for development and activity. Looking on from outside, one could not avoid the impression that Arab politics were on the threshold of hitherto unknown possibilities.

It was, however, both natural and inevitable that in the new circumstances there should arise differences in attitude towards the problem of inter-Arab relations, towards the practical realisation of Arab nationalism. The burdens of the past, influences from outside and, above all, the consequences

of the many years' existence as separate nations of the numerous countries of the Arab east had left their mark on their views and attitudes towards various questions. Hence there followed arguments and polemics which showed that whilst the principle and idea of Arab nationalism was accepted by all there were plenty of differences on the question of putting this principle and idea into practice.

On the one side, in the firm belief that the welfare of the Arab cause in general depended first and foremost on the rate and scale of unification, the view was formed that unification should be realised immediately and totally. This was held to be the basic strategic and political necessity for Arab liberation and independence to which individual considerations of one kind or another should be subordinated.

On the other side, whilst there was agreement in principle with the above attitude, there was a greater leaning towards a procedure whereby these aims would be realised gradually beginning with the most elementary forms and degrees of unity such as joint action, solidarity etc. The reason given for this attitude was that the way in which the Arab nations had been divided up for so many years had created a large number of problems which first needed to be solved and a range of differences that had to be smoothed out in order that complete unification might be achieved.

The effect of this method of gradual implementation would be no different from that of immediate unification as far as the outside world was concerned whilst the benefits of the latter solution for the internal durability and stability of the Arab world are obvious.

Arguments and polemics of this kind have dominated the political scene of the Arab east over recent years and became particularly virulent in the early months of this year and reflected on inter-Arab relation in a way which was neither expected nor wanted on either side.

From the way matters look today passions are abating and measured discussions are taking place implying that in the near future all sides will agree to a common policy whereby the Arab League will be given a special part and role as the general organ of Arab co-operation. Such a happy ending to an unpleasant situation has come about not only from the realisation that it was harmful to the cause of the Arab but even more because some third powers tried to intervene in the negotiations threatening to provoke once again the old rivalries and division. In this way this highly sensitive and complicated problem has to some extent been removed from the place it had temporarily held in Arab political discussions. The most fortunate way in which this has been achieved is a sign of the equal interest on all sides to close all possible approaches by which foreign influence and interference could work its way into the territory of inter-Arab relations.

The easing and normalising of disturbed relations can be considered as an essential condition for the rallying of the Arab nations to the platform of neutral independence and is equally important if they are to play a more active role in world affairs on the same lines. This would take them a step further towards their general emancipation, which, freeing them from backwardness, darkness and independence is leading them toward freedom from fear, from a feeling of inferiority and from all forms of fanaticism. For its own part this transition could not fail to reflect favourably on attitudes towards the remainder of outstanding problems and questions which must be solved in a farsighted and realistic way if lasting stability is to be brought to relations in the Near East.

As she has exerted an almost decisive influence on the development of the surrounding territory up to the present day the UAR has a prominent position in the area and has acquired a prominent place in the world community. She has therefore no small responsibility for the future. She will be able to fulfil these responsibilities completely only if she shows



same courage in approaching outstanding questions in conjunction with the Arab nations on an equal footing as she showed in her conflict with foreign oppression and other difficulties through which she had to pass. Despite occasional holding back and withdrawal in details the general course of the policy of the UAR has been leading in this direction, even if perhaps it has not yet gone far enough in all aspects and the desired and expected results have not been obtained in all cases. Nevertheless, if one is to judge by intentions

that have been expressed things are moving inevitably along that road and for the moment there is nothing to suggest any possibility or danger of a standstill or reversal. On the contrary, on the occasion of the seventh anniversary of the historic changes in Cairo one can conclude with a fair degree of certainty that the national and Arab politics are entering their most mature phase, in that inter-Arab relations are becoming more and more settled and Arab politics as a whole growing more active.

## New Disarmament Talks

by Dr Milan ŠAHOVIĆ

THE satisfaction expressed by the world public with the announcement that the Great Powers had decided to resume the disarmament talks was natural. The fate of the problem of disarmament, which affects the present-day world profoundly, had become even more uncertain after the disarmament talks had been broken off owing to a failure to agree on the scope of talks in the new and enlarged Disarmament Commission of the United Nations. The compromise reached at the last, thirteenth, meeting of the General Assembly — that all member states should be represented in the Disarmament Commission — had not produced any result. It was, therefore, with a feeling of relief that now, on the eve of this year's meeting of the General Assembly, when this problem is still in an acute phase, people greeted the news that the Foreign Ministers of the United States, the Soviet Union, Great Britain and France had agreed during their Geneva talks to renew the disarmament talks in a new body in which the East and the West would be equally represented.

The conditions under which the Foreign Ministers made this decision, the details of which have not been made public, point once again to the functional connection between the chief disputes in relations between the Great Powers. It is noteworthy that the Foreign Ministers, after long talks on the problem of Germany, came to the conclusion that the time had come to resume the disarmament talks. If, at one time, the arms race was the direct result of the general deterioration of relations between the Great Powers, the lessening of tension in their relations, which, in the first place, was manifested through the acceptance of negotiation as a method of solving disputes, could not but start a thaw in the field of disarmament as well. In other words, the decision to renew the disarmament talks was an inescapable outcome of the general re-appraisal of relations between the Great Powers which, in essence, took place in Geneva, and of the influence exerted by the problem of disarmament on their relations. The approaching meeting of the General Assembly might also influence the Foreign Ministers in making this decision.

It is true that, in all disputed issues, there are two groups of states which, relying on the balance of their strength, oppose each other as political blocs, and this retards understanding in problems which are ripe for solution. But, despite this, the present state of relations between the Great Powers, particularly between the United States and the Soviet Union, will make it necessary to conduct the new talks within broader limits than those that led to the breaking-off of the talks in London in 1957. In spite of the great differences and mistrust between the United States and the Soviet Union, we can take it that we are about to witness a posi-

tive change in the character of their relations, so that, if the new positive tendencies should continue, the new situation may be expected to make itself felt also in so important a problem as disarmament. Finally, no one can disregard the hope that the coming exchange of visits by Khrushchev and Eisenhower will also lead to some kind of disarmament talks. Furthermore, the progress made in the patient talks at the Nuclear Conference in Geneva shows that a change has also taken place in the conceptions of the Great Powers, so that the participants in the new talks will have to act accordingly. The Soviet Union, the United States and Great Britain, have agreed on the question of international control in the territories of the signatory-countries of the future agreement, i. e. on one of the chief aspects of the entire problem of disarmament.

We do not propose to discuss here the motives which decided Great Powers to start new talks, nor do we intend to dwell on the role which objective and subjective circumstances play in the determination of their attitudes, i. e. on how, and in what manner, they assess the strength of the opposing side and determine their own strategic and technical needs in the struggle which they wage in the international field. Yet, we cannot but say that the progress made in their relations, the fundamental manifestation of which we have already mentioned, represent an obvious confirmation of the view of those countries — including Yugoslavia — which consider that talks on disputed issues and endeavours to reach even partial agreements in various fields are the only way to improve relations between the Great Powers and also to consolidate world peace. The decision of the Great Powers to renew the disarmament talks must therefore be greeted, not only as an expression of their readiness to make further progress in this matter, but also as a sign of their awareness that they bear great responsibility for the future of peace and for the failure of so many attempts of the non-aligned countries and the General Assembly to make some headway towards a general agreement on disarmament.

However, the announcement that the new body which is to consider the problem of disarmament will consist exclusively of an equal number of Eastern and Western delegates, and that it will act independently of the United Nations, is not in accordance with the declared intention of the Great Powers to develop their mutual relations peacefully so as to ensure positive developments and progress in the world. Being aware of the place which the United Nations should have in disarmament talks and of the role which the uncommitted countries played in the efforts to improve relations between the Great Powers, all those would like to see some progress made in disarmament have definite views on the proposed composition of the new



body to be concerned with disarmament and on the place of the non-aligned countries. This is of utmost importance now on the eve of the fourteenth meeting of the General Assembly, at which the United Nations' Secretary General will have to report to the Assembly that its last year's decision on the composition of the Disarmament Commission has not led to any results. Although the member-states will certainly welcome every constructive step by the Great Powers towards further talks of disarmament, it can be expected that the above-mentioned matters in particular will be raised in the General Assembly. This was clearly indicated by the concern and criticism expressed after the announcement of the four Foreign Ministers that the disarmament talks should be renewed.

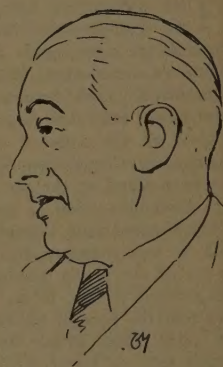
The world public considered it necessary then to emphasize that all should bear in mind the role which the United Nations and the non-aligned countries ought to play in disarmament

talks. No doubt, everyone must recognize the exceptional place of the Great Powers as factors which possess great destructive power, but, in this matter, no one can disqualify the United Nations and all other states which would be expected to sign a possible agreement on disarmament. It would not, therefore, be advisable for the Great Powers to disregard the United Nations and the non-aligned countries, for the whole development in this field would then progress in a direction contrary to the U.N. Charter which fixes clearly the competence of the General Assembly in disarmament. It follows, accordingly, that advantage should be taken of all available means, including the positive elements in relation between the Great Powers, in order to set up, at the coming meeting of the General Assembly, a flexible basis for disarmament talks in accordance with the aims and principles of the Charter as the basic constitutional act of the World Organization.

## Comments

# Meeting of the World Association for Political Science in Opatija

by Dr Jovan DJORDJEVIĆ



## I

THE application of scientific methods in the study of the political systems of individual countries, objective inquiries into the real state of affairs and into the relative laws of the functioning of political regimes, the subjecting of political parties, public opinion, "interest groups" and other free associations of men to scientific analysis, and generally the study of the "anatomy and physiology" of political systems in individual countries and in the world as a whole, have necessitated the separation of political science from the traditional framework of philosophy, law, political sociology and political economy. The real development of political science is associated with our century. This development, however, is not regular and it does not follow a straight line. The law of uneven development is active in this field too. Since the beginning of this century, and particularly since the First World War, political science has come to take an important place in the system of the social sciences, in university training and in the research activities of the Anglo-Saxon countries, and since the end of the Second World War political science has been gaining ever greater prominence and the "right of stay" in the academic, scientific

and political circles of a considerable number of countries.

A great deal of influence on the development of political science and its internationalization has been exerted by the World Association for Political Science, which was formed in 1949, together with other international organizations for various branches of the social sciences (history, sociology, economics, law).

The World Association for Political Science is a federation of the national societies of almost all European countries and a considerable number of new and independent countries in Asia and Africa, as well as a large number of American states. In addition to almost all countries of Western Europe and Scandinavia, Poland and Yugoslavia have been its members from the very beginning, and the Soviet Union from 1955. (The application of the Hungarian society for membership has not been accepted yet, because this association's statute provided, not so much for scientific as for purely propaganda and ideological tasks, including a "struggle against revisionism"). India, Pakistan, Japan, Ceylon, the United Arab Republic, Iran, Iraq, Israel, through the unions of their political scientists, are all members of the World Association.

It is interesting to note how the Association

conceives the work of political scientists. It divides political science into four different fields of study, viz.: 1. *Political theory* (theory of politics and history of political ideas); 2. *Political institutions* (constitution, central government, local self-government, public administration, economic and social functions of the state, comparative constitutional law or comparative government); 3. *Political parties, groups and public opinion* (political parties and their attitude towards political regimes, groups and associations of citizens, participation of citizens in government and administration, public opinion); 4. *International relations* (international affairs, international organizations and international law).

This division of political science, made by UNESCO's experts ten years ago, cannot be considered complete or satisfactory. The development of political science, particularly in socialist countries, and the application of Marxist methods could introduce more systematic work in the study of individual subjects and disciplines of political science. Thus, for example, the theory of political systems ("theory of the state") is one of the fundamental branches of political science. In a subdivision of political science known as "Social, political and state systems" scientists



Yugoslavia study, not only the structure the constitution, government and political organizations, but also the mechanism social self-government and the whole nplex of inter-relations between the "state" and "free political society" which characteristic of the political system of society developing on the basis of the fundamental socialist relations between in the field of production and division social output, a society in which man being transformed from the citizen of bourgeois democracy into a regulator of own affairs and an ever freer member in a socialist democracy.

In addition to its influence on the development of political science in a number of countries, the World Association has achieved many other results. It has been endeavouring to become a universal organization, admitting to its membership national societies of countries in which political science is just beginning to be developed and tolerating philosophical and other differences in the conception of this science. It has become a world forum where representatives of political science from countries with different political systems meet on an equal footing. Thus, the Association has created conditions for mutual acquaintance of scientists who advocate different views and theories in politics, for the improvement of the methods of political studies through frank constructive discussions, and for the rejection of dogmatism and prejudice. Similarly, we must emphasize here the role of the Association in the organization of international studies of political institutions in the world (political role of women, peaceful coexistence, democracy, post-war parties and local self-government). In this field, the Association co-operates very closely with UNESCO and other United Nations organizations. The Association issues two important publications — "International Bibliography of Political Science" and "International Political Documents" (which gives summaries of articles from all important journals in the field). The Association also issues collective publications which are important for the study and development of political science in the world (here we may mention its books on the place of political science in university training, on political

science in the world, bureaucracy, comparative government, etc.).

## II

THE Association develops its principal forms of work through congresses which are held every third year (so far there have been four congresses) and international conferences which take place annually (six of them have so far been held).

This year the Seventh International Conference of the Association will be held in our country (in Opatija from August 30 to September 6). Unlike congresses, which are broader gatherings whose agenda includes at least seven items, conferences are smaller meetings of specialists who, at a "round table", debate two or three definite problems. In Opatija, for instance, the chief subject of discussion will be: *Relations between Civil and Military Authorities*, based on a report by Professor Jones of Great Britain. Altogether sixteen national papers have been prepared for the Conference. Most of them are analyses of relations between civil and military authorities in various countries (the United States, France, Japan, Israel, Latin American states, the Near East, Switzerland, Britain, the Soviet Union, Poland and Yugoslavia). As a rule, all these reports have been written by experts in this field of study. Other reports raise some broader matters of principle which are important for groups of states and for the development of political science, as they treat such problems as: The Atlantic Pact and the two-fold question of civil-military relations in Britain and the United States; armed forces and politics in Latin America; defence organizations in Britain and the United States from 1946 to 1958; the significance of military training for civil-military relations in the United States; the framing of strategic decisions in the USA; the regulation of the military profession; forms of strategy and foreign policy and their influence on civil-military relations; naval and land forces and their relations with political regimes, etc.

Another agenda item at the Opatija Conference treats the state of political science in Western Europe. A report on this matter, which has been written by

Professor Barents of Amsterdam, covers all the countries of Western Europe and Scandinavia.

The third item will make the first contribution to the promotion of the study of the state of political science in Yugoslavia. Under this item a thorough discussion will take place of political science in university training in Yugoslavia and of research work in the field of the social sciences in our country. Special reports on these matters have been prepared by university teachers in Belgrade, Zagreb, Ljubljana, Sarajevo and Skopje. The Opatija Conference will afford an opportunity to Yugoslav scientific workers to review critically the problems, achievements and weaknesses of political science in Yugoslavia, where this science is gradually asserting itself, both from an academic and from a scientific point of view. The general significance of the conferences, and also of other meetings and activities of the Association, lies in the fact that they promote empirical and comparative studies of political institutions. This makes it possible to put to the test and improve scientific methods of work and to base all theoretic conclusions on facts and objective analysis. Since lack of experience, *a priori* tenets, ideological abstractions, vulgar pragmatism and naive idealism are still predominant in political science in many countries, this trend cannot but be welcomed, for it is the necessary precondition for the fulfilment of two fundamental aims of every international scientific organization: to promote co-operation in the improvement of science, i. e. in the scientific study of the importance and role played by political institutions in the present-day world, and to contribute to the growth of international understanding, which is necessary for the promotion of peaceful co-existence and co-operation between the different political systems which exist in the world today, systems which are not only a reality but an element of the general ideological progress of every country and of the human race as a whole. Therefore, it is understandable that our country accepted with satisfaction the proposal of the Association that its Seventh International Conference should be held in Opatija.

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## The Solution of the Problem of Nationalities in Yugoslavia

by Stevan DORONJSKI

*In view of the fact that a correct solution of the national question represents a highly significant social-political problem, notably for the countries pursuing a socialist road of development, the Editors requested the President of the People's Assembly of the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina, Stevan Doronjski, to outline for the "Review" the way in which this question has been solved in Yugoslavia. The author illustrates his article with examples from the territory of the People's Republic of Serbia, which is the most characteristic in this respect since the largest part of the Yugoslav national minorities reside there.*

WITHIN the complex of general problems involving the relations between nationalities in our country, the League of Yugoslav Communists has always paid special attention to the place and role of national minorities in the process of the struggle for the people's revolution and the construction of socialism. In every situation, all solutions of this type have been sought and found primarily along the line of creating the general social conditions — objective and subjective — for all the national minorities and every individual from their ranks to take part as the citizens of this country — on an equal footing, directly and actively — in all the phases and forms of the struggle for socialism together with all the working people of Yugoslavia, building together with them a unified, lasting and indissoluble organic social community.

The familiar successes in this domain have been achieved thanks to the principled and consistent internationalist attitude of the League of Yugoslav Communists, to its persevering and systematic organizational and ideological-educational work, and also thanks to the fact that the League has always adjusted its policy viz., built its fundamental premises, to the actual social conditions and possibilities of the struggle in a given phase of development, thus continuously strengthening the material and ideological foundations of the alliance and unity of the national minorities with all Yugoslav peoples.

The national composition of the People's Republic of Serbia and its constitutional — legal and political — organizational structure today, viz., the setting up of Vojvodina and Kosovo and Metohija as special autonomous state and political units with specific social and, particularly, national problems — clearly reveals that for us the question of a correct, gradual and perspective regulation of relations between nationalities has been, and remains a very important principled social-political problem to which constant attention is paid in dealing with any major economic, political and cultural question.

Through sharp combat for national and social liberation, the aspiration of all the national minorities, to join in a lasting union — on the basis of democracy, socialism and comprehensive social progress — with all Yugoslav peoples, in a single social and state community, grew stronger. Post-war difficulties, the inherited political contradiction in the relations with the national minorities, and the fundamental

problems of the struggle for socialism were dealt with and overcome by the united forces of socialist progress in the whole country, in accordance with our objective possibilities and in those forms which corresponded to the lines and system of our over-all socialist maturing.

As far back as the Second Session of the Anti-fascist Council of the People's Liberation of Yugoslavia, the full economic, political and cultural equality of the national minorities and the other Yugoslav peoples was proclaimed. The historical settlement of accounts with the forces of greater-Serbian chauvinism and hegemony had created every condition for the complete social realization of this significant political declaration of our revolutionary movement and the creation of a new era in the relations between our peoples, for the achievements of the people's revolution meant freedom, equality, brotherhood and release from economic subjection for all citizens of Yugoslavia, without distinction as to religion, nationality and race.

Directly after the liberation of the country, the Law Prohibiting the Inciting of National, Racial and Religious Hatred and Discord was passed, and the Federal Constitution of 1946 specially emphasized that "all national minorities in the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia shall enjoy the right to and protection of their cultural development and a free use of their language". All these principles were also adopted by the Constitution of the People's Republic of Serbia and the Statutes of the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina and the Autonomous District of Kosovo and Metohija, which means that the whole structure of social life in Serbia was founded on these principles. In the course of the further development of our legal-political system, the following rights of the national minorities were specially emphasized: the right, within the law, to elect and be elected to all bodies of state authority; all political rights, including also complete freedom of the press, speech, association, assembly, public gatherings and manifestations; the right of inviolability of person and lodging, to privacy of correspondence and other means of personal communication; complete equality with other citizens regarding the selection of occupation, the holding of all public offices and posts; the right to all decorations, recognitions and honorary functions; the right to a completely free use of the mother tongue in public intercourse, notably in the state and judicial administration; the right to schooling in general and in the mother tongue in particular; the right to free scientific and artistic work; the right to citizenship, the founding and changing of civil status — right to contract marriage, to movement, right of stay and taking up residence — to keeping and carrying arms, to travel documents for crossing the frontier, etc. The Rules of Procedure of the People's Assembly of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia and the people's assemblies of the People's Republic of Serbia, the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina and the Autonomous District of Kosovo and Metohija, as well as those of all the people's committees, expressly emphasize the right of the people's deputies to speak in the language of



the people to which they belong and, if they are members of the national minorities, an interpreter is provided for them, etc., etc. It is seen, then, that from the first day of the existence of the new state, the national minorities were granted, and started comprehensively to benefit by, an equal and identical legal-political status with all other members of the Yugoslav peoples.

In proclaiming the consolidation of the Constitutional-legal guaranty of the political and cultural equality of the national minorities, the Yugoslav community also concentrated on comprehensively building up this equality, primarily through a constant concern for a quickened economic and educational development of backward (minority) regions, a systematic and bold raising guiding political and technical personnel from the ranks of the national minorities, and so on. At the same time, the Communists of Serbia — together with all Yugoslav Communists — stood in the forefront of the struggle to see that these political principles and legal prescripts should not remain a dead letter, but that they should be fully realized in day-to-day practical endeavour and work, becoming one of the essential elements of our economic-political system and the socialist consciousness of all our citizens.

On this social foundation, even in the immediate post-war years and more and more extensively and substantially in every succeeding year, great progress and momentum was achieved in the social life of the national minority groups which had been totally inconceivable during the time of the old Yugoslavia. Thus, for example, in 1939-40, the minority schools on the territory of Serbia had a total of not more than 66,669 pupils, including about 30,000 Germans, while there were no classes at all with instruction in the Shqupetar, Bulgarian and Turkish languages. On the other hand, in the People's Republic of Serbia today the various schools are attended by 89,000 Shqupetar, 7,682 Bulgarian, 3,911 Turkish, 53,399 Hungarian, 8,592 Slovak, 4,465 Rumanian, and 1,890 Ruthenian pupils. As a further illustration of this progress, it is pertinent to add that: there were only 467 school classes with instruction in minority languages in Vojvodina before the war, compared with 1,964 today; 211 textbooks, in 2,196,000 copies, have been printed in the Autonomous District of Kosovo and Metohija from the liberation to date, plus 336 textbooks (1,460,000 copies in Vojvodina, and 26 textbooks (55,723 copies) in the Bulgarian language; that, out of the 524 cultural-educational organizations in Vojvodina in 1953, 194, with 17,000 members, belonged to the national minorities there; in Kosovo-Metohija today there are 8 mixed libraries and 120 libraries with some 70,000 volumes in the Shqupetar language, and about 12,000 regular readers; in the part of the District of Pirot inhabited by a Bulgarian minority, 13 cultural-educational societies covering 69 sections, exist today, together with an amateur theatre, 6 people's universities, 49 libraries, and 2 cinemas; from the liberation to the end of 1957, 1399 different books were published (excluding textbooks) in the languages of the national minorities, viz., 644 in Hungarian, 314 in Shqupetar, 196 in Slovakian, 212 in Rumanian, and 33 in Ruthenian; 25 newspapers and periodicals are published in the minority languages in Serbia today, while two radio stations, Novi Sad and Pristina regularly broadcast in those languages; today there are ten times more Shqupetar and Hungarian educational workers than before the war; and so on.

The comprehensive social progress of all national minorities has made possible a thorough political differentiation in their ranks on the basis of socialism, isolation of conservative and self-assertion of progressive forces, and so on. This has created all the condition for a victorious struggle for emancipation from all the impediments of conservative mentality in the social life of national minorities. It is always to be remembered, though, that the content, forms and pace of our democratic maturing in socialist development have above all enabled the national minorities not only to include themselves into its course very rapidly, but to become a forceful, live

and effective factor in it, capable — by virtue of its internal cultural and political strength — of dealing with and definitively removing all reactionary and anti-socialist phenomena and tendencies in the country and abroad, and constantly prepared to make an ever-larger contribution to the general social progress of Yugoslavia as a whole.

At the same time the fundamental premises of the policy of the League of Yugoslav Communists towards the national minorities are a component part of its general programme attitudes toward the concrete conditions of socialist transformation in our country, thus being essentially free from opportunistic foreign-political distortions, inconsistencies, dogmatic vulgarizations and adventurously rashness. All this has enabled the national minorities to be not an object, but a subject of policies and the general social movement, and it has enabled our policy toward the national minorities to outgrow every framework of the most progressive bourgeois-democratic protection of national minority rights and become a serious and prospective action of socialist forces, based on a thorough change of the social structure and relationships of political forces in the minority collectives also. In effect, from a formal-legal and administrative safeguarding of the rights of the national minorities, we were very soon able to pass to the promotion of an extensive and intensive political life in their ranks, to create, by way of complete autonomy, the conditions for their cultural advancement and their full self-assertion in our social life.

By freeing themselves — not as a separate national collective, but as equal working men and citizens of a social community — from the relationships and ideological encumbrances of the old systems, the members of the national minorities have become a potent factor in Yugoslavia's social life, on the strength of their political maturity and conscious social, productive and cultural-educational activity for the general development of socialism.

By virtue of its influence on the practice and consciousness of people, socialist democracy constitutes a wide political basis for free and diversified expression of the social and creative initiative of the masses and coordination of the sum of individual and general interests. The lively action of its motivating forces — the producers, working collectives, communes and political organizations — creates all the necessary conditions for the resolving and gradual transcending of all social antagonisms, and above all, national exclusivity and intolerance. Socialist democracy destroys the social relationships "which can give rise to affective inequalities, injustices, privileges and subjection."

Hence, too, the large-scale participation of the national minorities in the bodies of workers' and general social self-government and in political and social organizations, has become an indispensable principle of our contemporary political system and a lasting form and method of political action on nationally mixed terrains.

Among the total 153,963 workers permanently employed in the productive enterprises of the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina, 47,210 are Hungarians, 3,786 Slovaks, and 1,009 Rumanians. At the same time, out of the total 32,308 members of workers' councils, 9,146 are Hungarians, 246 Rumanians, and 969 Slovaks; and the 9,961 members of managing boards include 2,561 Hungarians, 72 Rumanians, and 200 Ruthenians.

In 1958, the workers' councils of the enterprises in the Autonomous District of Kosovo and Metohija employing more than 30 workers included 42 per cent of Shqupetars and 5,9 per cent of Turkish members, while the enterprises employing less than 30 workers — in which the whole working collective functions as the workers' council — included 49,6 per cent of Shqupetars, and 8,2 per cent of Turks. In both the larger and the smaller economic organizations the composition of managing boards approximates to these figures.

Obviously workers' self-management has become a solid foundation of the unity of the working collectives and a



whereby their existing contradictions and differences are transcended. Through the medium of self-management, the eternal integration and unification of the members of the working collectives are achieved, above all in their capacity as producers and on the basis of the identity of their material and social interests and aspirations, which inevitably gives rise to confidence, sincerity, mutual assistance, and so on. Consequently, national contradictions are among the first to appear in a working collective, lacking as they do a social foundation and source in enterprises. This circumstance, as the given data reveal, has also had a decisive effect on the national composition, efficiency and authority of workers' councils on nationally-mixed terrains.

In principle, the same applies to the role of agricultural co-operatives in the creating of social preconditions for the appearance of nationalist conflicts and discord in the village. The problems of religion, patriarchal conservative ideas, nationalism and chauvinism in the rural districts are primarily solved through the very forms, content and achieved level of socialist agriculture. There is no doubt but that the problem of nationalism in the village will continue to claim the attention and activity of conscious socialist forces, yet it is equally clear that, in the final analysis, nationalism in the village will be effectively checked and transcended in the process of the development of productive forces and an intensive promotion of socialist relations, in which the subjective factor must exert a constant and comprehensive ideological-education influence on the consciousness of the masses. Backward production, such as we still have today, conditions the level of consciousness well.

The economic and social position of our working man and citizen in a developed communal system also conditions a new relationship between the various nationalities. Appearing in public affairs primarily as a socially and personally interested producer, the Yugoslav citizen can be free from nationalist prejudices of any kind because he has at his disposal effective instruments of struggle for and realization of every progressive social ideal. On such a foundation, and on a structural and functional premise of the commune, socialist democratic relationships are irresistibly formed on its entire territory between individual working men, working collectives, bodies of self-government, the authorities and the political mass organizations, in all possible direct and indirect mutual contacts and joint actions. It is perfectly natural, and an inevitable, that deep and lasting social-economic, political, cultural and other forms of integration can and must proceed through a such form of social-territorial organizing and development, on the basis of a successful solution of all general problems and the co-ordination of personal and social interests. In the commune, on a broad social foundation, the conditions are created, in a most effective and most logical way, for the final liquidation and overcoming of nationalist conflicts, dissensions and differences, since day-by-day the commune is increasingly becoming a lasting and comprehensive socialist community of producers and citizens.

The character of the communes today is also shown in their national composition of its governing bodies. The total of 77 members of the communal councils and the 3,811 members of the communal councils of producers in the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina include respectively 994 and 674 Hungarians, 207 and 110 Rumanians, and 172 and 157 Slovaks. The total 2,102 members of the communal councils of producers include 1,673 members of the communal councils of producer in the Autonomous District of Kosovo and Metohija include respectively 1,333 and 979 Shkupetars, and 36 and 7 Turks. The total 808 councillors of the district councils and 659 councillors of the district councils of producers in the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina include respectively 219 and 160 Hungarians, 16 and 9 Rumanians, and 22 and 18 Slovaks. The total 344 councillors of the district councils and 268 councillors of the district councils of producers in the Auto-

nomous District of Kosovo and Metohija include respectively 191 and 132 Shkupetars, and 10 and 2 Turks.

The People's Assembly of the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina and the Regional Committee of the Autonomous District of Kosovo and Metohija include 108 Shkupetar, 43 Hungarian, 6 Rumanian, and 4 Slovak members. This principle of consistent national representation in the representative and highest bodies of people's state authority was implemented also on the level of the republics and the Federation. The Federal People's Assembly includes 17 Shkupetar, 10 Hungarian, 2 Rumanian members and 1 Slovak member, 17 Shkupetar, 17 Hungarian, 3 Rumanian, 2 Slovak members and 1 Turkish member are active in the People's Assembly of the People's Republic of Serbia.

From all the foregoing it can be seen that the main objective sources of nationalism and chauvinism have been removed from the social-political structure itself and the main streams of our social life. Whether or not they will in fact occur in our social life as acute phenomena primarily depends on the strength, degree of engagement and correct working of individual self-governing bodies and social-political organizations, the League of Communists above all.

The League of Communists, together with the other political organizations, has definitely been the builder and protagonist of socialist consciousness in general and among the national minorities in particular. It is in its ranks that a correct attitude to the national minorities was first implemented, and in a most consistent way, that a model example and method was built up for our whole political practice and the tradition of a consistent struggle against any form of nationalism and chauvinism created. Thanks precisely to these qualities, the League of Yugoslav Communists and Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Yugoslavia have in fact asserted themselves among the national minorities as their revolutionary political party, organizer and leader of socialist construction on an all-Yugoslavia scale. The Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Yugoslavia and its leadership include a majority of the citizens of our country, who are working with the same intensity for the fulfilment of all the major political tasks.

In the process of building socialism and in the general political combat on the internal and international level, an experienced political cadre was also growing and maturing in the League of Communists, a cadre capable of rising with its work and strength, above its narrow national frame. Political differentiation in the ranks of the national minorities — notably after the establishment of our new economic-political system — has reached such a high degree that a distinct line has been drawn between reactionaries and progressive people who are in the position today to give the necessary real direction and intensity to the whole social life on their terrain and to their national group. More than that, the results of our development to date have frustrated for all time even among the national minorities, any effort by conservative and reactionary elements to organize, on nationalist sloans, any serious resistance to socialism, to our concrete economic and political measures, and so on. This political strength and homogeneity of our national minorities has been responsible, a number of times already, for breaking up all the political speculation and chauvinist calculations of the organizers of the anti-Yugoslav campaign in the eastern bloc. With its past work, political quality, penetration, mass character and vital attachment to the Yugoslav road to socialism, these cadres offer full guaranties that they will continue successfully to perform all the tasks confronting them, that they will remain in the future an unbreakable link, motivating force and organizer of all our actions among the national minorities.

In our policy, the existing national groupings and the problem of relationship between nationalities resulting from these must be a factor commanding constant consideration, a factor conditioning all our decisions and measures. Regulation of the relations between nationalities represents a very delic-



ate action of conscious revolutionary forces constantly guiding and correcting the objective social process, i. e., fortifying its positive and blunting its negative tendencies and manifestations. It must be borne in mind that nationalism will in fact persist, though less and less every day, for as long as there are social forces and relationships making up the real material and social foundation of nationalism and other ideological prejudices of the conservative mentality. It is not at all a question of liquidating nationalism and other negative phenomena of a national character today, but of the seeing that the tendencies to oust them from different domains and sectors of our social life should everywhere and at all times be pronounced and dominant.

The present campaign against our country by certain neighbouring countries of the eastern bloc — staged as it is, and in conditions of the existence in Yugoslavia of numerous national minorities from whose mother countries the propaganda is carried out — is bound to strike people as a chauvinist, politically destructive and damaging action, seeking to incite chauvinist friction and sallies. However, since the Bulgarian and Albanian relayers of this campaign have passed from an „ideological dispute“ to the making of the most absurd territorial claims and a violent straining of inter-state relations, this campaign as a whole, both objectively and subjectively seeks to sow the seeds of chauvinist discord and conflict among us, all with the object of „smashing revisionism“, i. e., Yugoslavia.

Clearly such efforts have no repercussions at all on us, nor could they have any, either, for nationalism can be used as a trump card solely in relation to a country in which the national minorities are threatened. And this is not the case in Yugoslavia. Under our conditions of a developed direct democracy, the working man whatever his nationality, is himself the master of the over-all social movement, its factual protagonist.

## Hotel „Park“ Lovran - Istria

The hotel, with its annexe „Elektra“, lies on the main road, close to the sea, the bathing beaches, the harbour and a lovely park. Balconies overlooking the sea. Private baths, lift, garden, excellent cuisine and drinks.



Information: Hotel Park, Lovran, Yugoslavia.  
Cable address: Parkhotel Lovran.

## Documents

### Communique on Talks between President Tito and Emperor Haile Selassie

A JOINT communiqué was issued on August 24 on the visit of Emperor Haile Selassie I of Ethiopia to Yugoslavia and on the talks held on this occasion between Emperor Haile Selassie and President Josip Broz Tito of Yugoslavia. The communiqué was as follows:

„His Imperial Highness Haile Selassie I, Emperor of Ethiopia, stayed from August 15 to 23, 1959, in the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia at the invitation of President Josip Broz Tito. The Emperor of Ethiopia was accompanied by Princess Aida Desta, Provincial Vice-Governor Shoa Seless, Court Minister Tafara Vork, Major-General Mulugeta B. Chief of the Special Staff, Ato Ketema Ifri, personal secretary to the Emperor, and Colonel Debebe Hailamaria, adjutant to the Emperor.

During his stay, Emperor Haile Selassie and his retinue visited Brioni and several places and industrial enterprises in the People's Republic of Slovenia as well as some places in the People's Republic of Croatia, and were given on the occasions a warm welcome and expression of the friendly feelings entertained by the people of Yugoslavia towards the people of Ethiopia.

The exchange of opinions between the two heads of state on questions of common interest took place in an atmosphere of cordial friendship. On this occasion expression was again given to the unanimity of views on the basic questions dealt with at these talks.

The Emperor of Ethiopia and President Tito affirmed with pleasure that the principles laid down in the United Nations Charter and the resolutions passed at the Bandung and Accra Conferences, i. e., the principles of the policy of active and peaceful coexistence, are being affirmed more and more in international relations and influencing the renunciation of cold-war methods and the policy of force. They joined welcoming meetings and exchanges of views between responsible representatives of states and considered that in this way positive results could be achieved in strengthening acquaintanceship, understanding, trust and equal co-operation between peoples as essential conditions for the foundation of a lasting peace.

During the talks the problems of the liberation struggle of the African peoples were discussed separately. Stress was laid on the justice of their demands for freedom and independence, for the realization of the rights of every people to free life and independent development — respect for the territorial integrity of independent countries, equality between all states, large and small, non-interference in the internal affairs of others — form the basis of international stability, peace and all progress in the world, towards which humanity today is irresistibly moving.

The Heads of State considered it necessary that disarmament talks should be reopened, primarily within the framework of the United Nations, and that further efforts should be made to reach even limited initial agreements in this field.

They were of the opinion that all conditions existed for agreement to be reached in the near future on abandoning nuclear weapon tests. Stress was again laid on the important rôle to be played by economic help from the international community in the development of the under-developed countries and regions.



In the field of bilateral relations they had pleasure in pointing out that the earlier multilateral co-operation between Yugoslavia and Ethiopia had been of help to both countries.

The Heads of State concluded that economic relations between the two countries were also progressing very satisfactorily and that both sides were making more and more use of the wide possibilities for extending this co-operation. Special pleasure was expressed regarding the recently signed agreement on credits for the construction of some industrial plants in Ethiopia, which gave concrete expression to the principle agreements reached during the visit of President Tito to Ethiopia in February 1959.

In the same spirit and with the same goal, the two countries will extend even further their political co-operation, especially within the framework of the United Nations, by means of mutual consultations, personal contacts and other useful actions.

Brioni, August 23, 1959.

## Impressions from Latin America

A press conference was held on August 25 at the Secretariat for Information of the Federal Executive Council in Belgrade by the members of the good-will mission which had visited some countries in Latin America. Vladimir Popović, member of the FEC, Joža Brilej, Assistant Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and Borivoje Jelić, Assistant Director of the Federal Institute for Economic Planning, informed Yugoslav newspapermen on their visit to these countries. The Head of the mission, Vladimir Popović, made the following statement:

THE MISSION received a friendly welcome in all countries. The members of the Mission were received by the Heads of State and held very open and friendly talks with them. Besides this, they held talks with the Ministers for Foreign Affairs, Ministers for Economic Affairs, the Presidents of the national banks, other economic officials, representatives of Chambers of Industry and Commerce, and with representatives of the political and public life of all these countries. Naturally, the basic content of the talks was related to the strengthening and deepening of further co-operation in all fields. In all the countries which we visited, as well as in Latin America as a whole, Yugoslavia is regarded with great respect as a country which is independent, which is carrying out its own independent policy and which is successfully solving the problems of its economic development. The rôle of Yugoslavia in the solution of international problems, especially its efforts for international financial aid to the economic development of the under-developed countries, her close and friendly relations with many countries of Asia and Africa — all this draws Yugoslavia very close to the countries of the Latin American region. It must also be stressed that all this is reflected in the great respect and prestige with which the personality of President Tito is held in all these countries.

Vladimir Popović, the leader of the good-will mission, also stressed the firm resolve of the countries of Latin America to speed up their economic development as well as to bring democratic progress to their countries to the greatest extent. As far as bilateral relations between Yugoslavia and individual countries of Latin America are concerned, there are possibilities for widening economic exchanges with those countries where already they exist, and also possibilities for concluding commercial agreements with those countries where there were no previous arrangements. The possibility was also

expressed for the development of co-operation with the countries of Latin America in all fields, not only political, economic and cultural, but also co-operation between trade unions, youth and other social organizations. Interest in such co-operation was great and now serious efforts must be made to put this possibility into practice to the greatest possible extent.

## Meetings and Talks

**JAPANESE SOCIALIST LEADERS IN BELGRADE.** — Shodji Okade and Sadataka Sata, leaders of the Japanese Socialist Democratic Party, arrived in Belgrade on August 3 as guests of the Federal Council of the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Yugoslavia. They stayed four days in Yugoslavia, during which time they held talks with representatives of the SAWPY and visited Zagreb and Ljubljana.

**DELEGATION OF THE BURMESE SOCIALIST PARTY IN BELGRADE.** — At the invitation of the SAWPY a delegation of the Burmese Socialist Party, led by U Cho Njen, the leader of the party and former Vice-Premier of the Burmese government, arrived in Belgrade on August 4. The delegation held talks with officials of SAWPY and visited many towns and cities in Yugoslavia. On August 9 the delegation was also received by the President of the Republic, Josip Broz Tito.

**CUBAN GOOD-WILL MISSION ARRIVED IN BELGRADE.** — A Cuban good-will mission led by Major Ernesto Gevaro Serno, Ambassador Extraordinary, arrived in Belgrade on August 12. This good-will mission spent six days in Yugoslavia at the invitation of the Federal Executive Council. During their stay the members of the mission visited several Yugoslav towns and held talks on bilateral relations between Yugoslavia and Cuba. The members of the mission were received by the President of the Republic, Josip Broz Tito, on August 18 on Brioni.

**JAPANESE PARLIAMENTARIANS IN BELGRADE** — Two members of the Japanese Parliament, Kandjiro Sata, member of the CC of the Japanese Socialist Party and president of the Party Committee for cultural and educational questions, and Seichi Dji, member of parliament, arrived in Belgrade on August 15. The Japanese parliamentarians stayed in our country as guests of the SAWPY and held talks with prominent representatives of Yugoslav political and social life.

**PRESIDENT OF THE GREEK ACADEMY OF SCIENCES IN YUGOSLAVIA.** — Spiros Melas, President of the Greek Academy of Sciences, spent from August 10 to 20 in Yugoslavia as the guest of the Commission for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries. During his stay he visited various cultural and social organizations and had meetings and talks with personalities in the cultural and public life of Belgrade.

**LEADER OF UNITED WORKERS PARTY OF ISRAEL IN RIJEKA.** — Dova Zakin, member of the Executive Council of the CC of the United Workers Party of Israel (MAPAM), spent several days in Yugoslavia as guest of the SAWPY. During his stay Zakin held talks with officials of the SAWPY and was received by Petar Stambolić, member of the Presidium of the Federal Council of the SAWPY, who presented him with a copy of the Programme of the LYC, of which the United Workers Party of Israel printed an unabridged translation in Hebrew.

**GROUP OF CULTURAL WORKERS FROM UAR IN YUGOSLAVIA.** — On the basis of the plan for cultural co-operation between Yugoslavia and the United Arab Republic, a group of cultural workers from the UAR, led by Dr. Abdel Monem el Savi, Vice-President of the Ministry of Culture, arrived in



Belgrade on August 8. The group consisted of high officials of the Ministry of Culture of Egypt and Syria as well as two Writers. During their 13-day stay the visitors acquainted themselves with the cultural life of Yugoslavia and visited Belgrade, Zagreb, Ljubljana, Split and Dubrovnik.

**DANIEL MEYER IN YUGOSLAVIA.** — Daniel Meyer, one of the leaders of the Union of Democratic Forces and President of the French League of Human Rights, arrived in Yugoslavia on August 21. During his two-weeks' visit he will be gathering data for a book which he wants to write about Yugoslavia. During the first days of his stay in Yugoslavia Daniel Meyer held talks with members of the Executive Committee of the CC of Slovenia and Croatia.

## Negotiations and Agreements

**DELEGATIONS OF SCANDINAVIAN BUSINESSMEN IN YUGOSLAVIA.** — Three groups of businessmen from Norway, Sweden and Denmark are expected at the beginning of September as guests of the Union of Yugoslav Chambers of Commerce. These groups of businessmen will stay 10–12 days in Yugoslavia, during which they will visit the Belgrade and Zagreb trade fairs, and also the Ljubljana wine fair. Besides this, they are expected to visit some of our larger manufacturing and trade enterprises in order to get better acquainted with the economic possibilities in Yugoslavia.

**AMERICAN TRADE MISSION IN YUGOSLAVIA.** — The American trade mission which arrived in Yugoslavia on August 31 is made up of experts on consumer goods, trade problems of imports and exports, markets, sale of processed food products, machines, advertising and tourism. It is the fourth American trade mission to visit Yugoslavia during the period of the international trade fairs in Belgrade and Zagreb. This mission is to co-operate with Yugoslav experts in considering possibilities for increasing trade between the two countries. The mission will visit several towns and some manufacturing and trade enterprises.

**YUGOSLAV-CEYLONese TRADE AGREEMENT RATIFIED.** — On August 1 in Colombo the Ceylonese government ratified the Yugoslav-Ceylonese trade agreement and the treaty on scientific and technical co-operation which were recently concluded in Belgrade. On the basis of the trade agreement Yugoslavia will give Ceylon a credit of 5,500,000 pound sterling for the purchase of Yugoslav products.

**YUGOSLAV-HUNGARIAN AGREEMENT ON TRADE EXCHANGES SIGNED.** — On August 3 the agreement on trade exchanges between Yugoslavia and Hungary for the period 1960–62 was signed in Budapest. At the same time, the protocol on the exchange of goods for next year was signed. On the basis of a long-term agreement, Yugoslavia will export to Hungary wood products, minerals, freight cars, various consumer goods and electrical energy, and will import machines and equipment, metal products, various chemical and medical goods, as well as wagon parts.

**INDONESIAN ECONOMIC DELEGATION IN YUGOSLAVIA.** — An Indonesian economic delegation led by Ismael Thajab, director of the Economic Section of the Indonesia Ministry of Foreign Affairs and president of the Indonesia section of the Yugoslav-Indonesian Commission, arrived in Belgrade on August 31. The delegation will stay eight days in Yugoslavia and during this time will have discussions with a Yugoslav economic delegation on increasing exchange of goods and on some current questions in the economic relations between the two countries.

## Chronicle of Political Events

**August 14** — President of the Republic Josip Broz Tito received Theodosius, Patriarch of the Orthodox Church of Antioch and the whole East, and members of his retinue. They are staying in Yugoslavia as guests of the Serbian Orthodox Church.

**August 15** — Emperor Haile Selassie I of Ethiopia arrived in Yugoslavia on an unofficial visit as the guest of President of the Republic Josip Broz Tito. Emperor Haile Selassie with his granddaughter, Princess Aida Desta, and his retinue stayed in Yugoslavia until August 23, during which time they visited Pula, Brion, Kopar, Postojna, Ljubljana, Bled and Kranj. During the visit of the Ethiopian sovereign, he and President Tito held informal political talks, a communiqué on which is published separately.

**August 23** — The Third International Technical Fair opened in Belgrade by Avdo Humo, member of the Federal Executive Council. The opening of the Fair was attended by Aleksandar Ranković and Mijalko Todorović, Vice-Presidents of the FEC.

## Diplomatic Diary

**July 28** — President of the Republic Josip Broz Tito received the sculptor Ivan Meštrović, who is visiting his homeland after an absence of many years.

**August 6** — Grudi Atanasov, the new Bulgarian Ambassador to Yugoslavia, arrived in Belgrade.

**August 8** — By order of the President of the Republic Josip Broz Tito, Drago Govorušić, former Department Head in the Secretariat of State for Foreign Affairs, was named as new Yugoslav Ambassador to Finland.

**August 9** — President of the Republic Josip Broz Tito received Miloš Carević, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Turkey.

**August 9** — President of the Republic Josip Broz Tito received the Letters of Credence of the newly appointed Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Pakistan to Yugoslavia, U. T. A. Baig.

**August 9** — President of the Republic Josip Broz Tito received Grudi Atanasov, newly appointed Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Bulgaria, who handed him his Letters of Credence.

**August 17** — President of the Republic Josip Broz Tito received Ivan Zamčevski, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Yugoslavia, who had asked to be received.

## Our New Contributors

**STEVAN DORONJSKI:** President of the People's Assembly of the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina, member of the Central Committee of the League of Yugoslav Communists and the Federal Council of the Socialist Alliance of Working People.



# Yugoslavia

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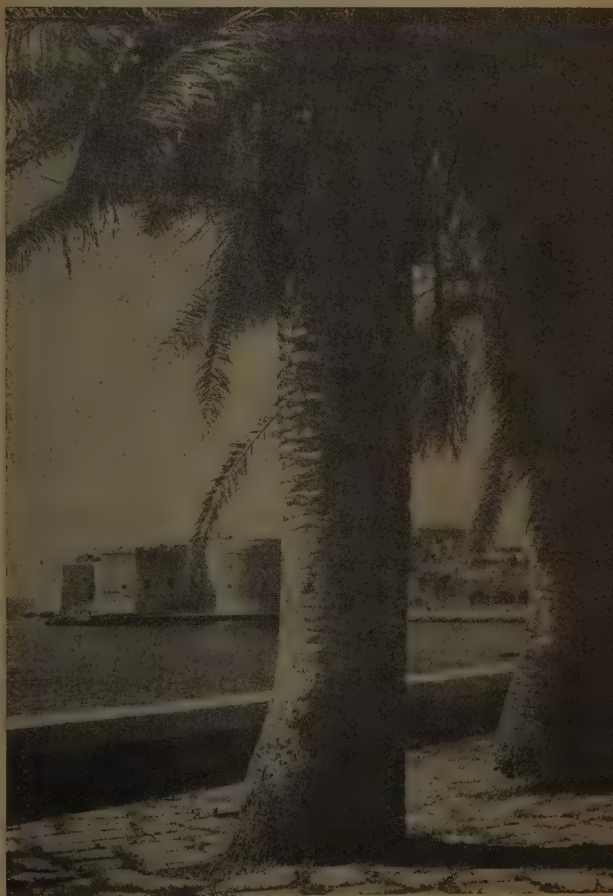


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### Significance and role of the enterprise within the wood industry of Yugoslavia

WITH regard to timber resources, Yugoslavia holds one of the first places in Europe. The total forest area is about 7,850,000 hectares, that is, 30.8 per cent of the whole territory. This forest area gives Yugoslavia sixth place in Europe, but if the forest-covered surface is considered in relation to the number of population, Yugoslavia takes fourth place.

The geographical position, climatic conditions, topography, and general economic and political development of Yugoslavia represent the basic elements of her evolution, and, consequently of the present state of forestry and the wood industry in the country.

Such forest resources explain why wood processing has represented one of the major industrial branches in the development of Yugoslav economy. Historically, the industrial development and the foreign trade of the various Yugoslav regions began with the building of plants either for the processing of cereals or of wood processing. The first of such plants of a semi-industrial character were erected as early as in the 17th and 18th centuries, but more rapid development took place only in the 19th century. Since that time, that is, since the mid-19th century, wood processing has become the most important industrial branch in the country, and its

products, with those of agriculture and livestock rearing form the most important export articles.

After the liberation of the country, at the end of World War II, Yugoslavia began to carry out an intensive industrial



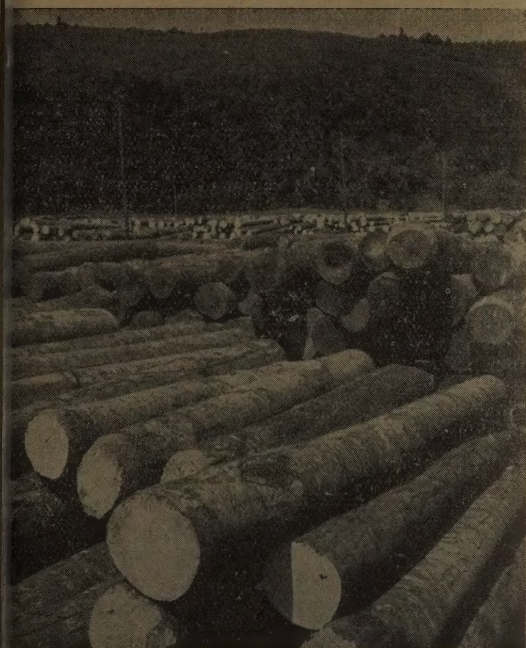
lization programme with the aim of raising her backward economy, especially her industry, to the European level. The wood industry was, at that time, in comparison with the other branches of industry, one of the most advanced, so it is quite understandable that its development did not proceed at the rate at which some other branches advanced, such as, in the first place, heavy industry, metallurgy, electricity, the chemical industry, etc. But precisely because of its relatively low degree of development, the wood industry had, during the first post-war years, to assume the major part of the burden of reconstruction and industrialization.

This was especially apparent in the field of foreign trade. In the field of exports, since in those years, more than one third of the total Yugoslav exports were timber and wood products.

The relative importance of the wood industry in the export trade of the country, i. e. the proportion of its share is showing a declining tendency, although the absolute value



exports has remained at the same level or has even, in recent years, been rising. This is the result of industrialization and, in connection with it, of the increased share in exports of other branches of industry.



However, even within the wood industry, far-reaching changes have occurred in the structure of production and exports, during the past few years, especially since 1955. For a better understanding of these changes, some words of explanation are needed. Timber, even before the war, represented one of the most important export items, but these exports consisted mainly of raw materials or semi-finished products, that is, of unsawn or sawn timber, with a very small share of semi-finished goods — flooring and veneers. Finished products, in the true sense of the word, i. e. furniture and wooden household articles either did not figure at all in Yugoslav exports or their share was negligible. Such a structure was characteristic of the whole of Yugoslav exports. With the change in the economic structure of the country, that is, with the transformation of Yugoslavia from an economically undeveloped country into a country with advanced industry and agriculture, changes also appeared in the structure of the production of wood industry and of wood exports. In the first years after the liberation, both production and exports, by force of circumstances, preserved their pre-war, undeveloped character, but, at the same time, measures were taken and investments made with a view to changing the structure of industrial wood processing in the sense of increasing the share of finished products.

Good results were achieved through these efforts and still better ones may be expected in the future.

Yugoslavia was previously known in the European as well as in other markets primarily for the excellent quality of her own timber, especially oak and beech, but, at present, she ranks among the most important exporters of finished goods, in particular of various types of furniture. The markets have been expanded, so that it may be said that Yugoslav furniture and other finished wood products are exported to all five continents, while certain articles in fact play an out-

standing part. As was mentioned above, finished products accounted only for an insignificant proportion before the war, whereas at present the share of such products has reached nearly 30 per cent of the total Yugoslav exports of wood and products. This proportion is all the more worthy of mention when it is considered that Yugoslavia is in fact the largest exporter of sawn beech timber in the world, that she is one of the three biggest exporters of sawn oak timber and the largest exporter of beech pulpwood, besides holding a very important place for some other articles.

The structural changes in the exports of wood, i. e. the ever greater significance of the exports of finished articles, are only an integral part of the structural changes in the sphere of production. Very shortly after the war, construction was started of new plants for the manufacture of finished goods, while numerous existing factories were enlarged and modernized. The results of these investments have appeared to the full extent during the last few years, when both production and exports have begun to rise at a very speedy rate. Thus, for example, the production of veneers between 1955 and 1958 more than doubled, rising from 12,000 cu. m. to 25,000 cu. m. Production of plywood rose from 25,000 cu. m. to 33,000 cu. m., of fibreboard from 16,000 to 23,000 cu. m., and of „lesonit“ board from 15,000 to 20,000 cu. m. Total production of fibreboards has therefore risen from 68,000 to 101,000 cu. m. These figures are all the more significant if it is remembered that in the last year preceding the war, the production of veneers amounted to 5,000 cu. m. in all, of plywood to 13,000 cu. m. and of fibreboard to 3,000 cu. m. „Lesonit“ board (made of chippings) was not produced at all at that time.

A similar development is witnessed in the production of finished products. Bent wood furniture in fact does not show a great increase in production owing to rather great difficulties





encountered in selling abroad, but Yugoslavia is still one of the biggest manufacturers and the biggest exporter of this article. The annual production is about 1,200,000 units. The production of suites of furniture has been stagnating at about 120,000 suites; the reason for this situation lies in the enormously increased manufacture of various pieces of furniture, which have far better sales both in the country and abroad. In 1955, the production of these goods was negligible, whereas in 1958 it amounted to 1,600,000 units.



Other finished products, among them various objects for household use, fancy goods, sports requisites and the like, are also showing a favourable development. Here too production has risen by about 25 per cent during the past three years.

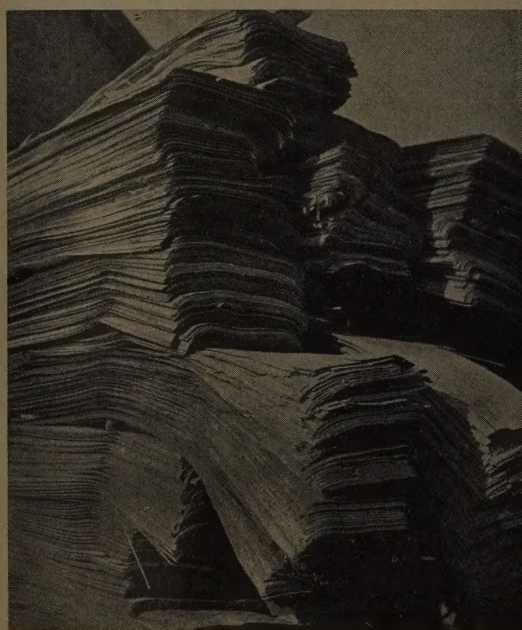
Exports of furniture have been rising faster than production, since many factories, especially the new ones, have been working primarily for export. In 1955, the total value of furniture exports was \$ 1,354,000, whereas in 1958, the value amounted to more than \$ 3,500,000. In the current year, exports of various kinds of furniture will, undoubtedly, appreciably exceed the figure of 4 million dollars.

The development of furniture manufacturing is not only favourable with regard to the increase in capacities, but particularly with regard to the high quality obtained. At present, the Yugoslav products of furniture and other finished goods are fully capable of withstanding the competition of other, highly industrialized, countries, so that in some markets, as, for example, in Great Britain, Yugoslavia holds first place among all other exporting countries. In the past few years, she has been very successful in particular in the markets of the United States, U.S.S.R., Western Germany, etc. Such a success has been achieved thanks exclusively to the solidity and beautiful finish of her furniture as well as to a well-organized export service. It is a fact that Yugoslav furniture



finds a ready welcome and is in great demand on many European and overseas markets.

As is known, the Yugoslav foreign trade is neither monopolized nor centralized, but is carried on through a number of independent economic organizations. The same is true of the exports of timber and wood products. There are in this sector several large enterprises and a dozen smaller ones. The biggest organization with regard to both the value of exports and the number of countries with which trade is carried on, as well as in respect of the number of articles which it exports — is „EXPORTDRVO“, an enterprise for the export of timber and wood products in Zagreb. „Exportdrvo“ was founded in 1948 as an enterprise for the export of wood industry products. At the same time, another related enterprise was set up under the name of „Exportsuma“, for the export of forest products. Early in 1949, the two enterprises were merged into a new one, bearing the present name. Ever since its origin, „Exportdrvo“ has been the biggest Yugoslav export organization for wood, and one of the three biggest Yugoslav export enterprises in general. Until about 1952, „Exportdrvo“ handled approximately 36 per cent of the exports of timber and wood products from the country, and this at the same time meant about 12 per cent of the total Yugoslav exports. The proportion of its share showed a decline between 1952 and 1954, but since then it has been rising again, so that during the past few years it has been stabilized



between 30 and 32 per cent. The average share for the past ten years was 30.4 per cent.

The largest item in „Exportdrvo“ exports, and this applies to exports from the country as a whole, is sawn timber of hardwood. Its share during the past ten years has been 49.8 per cent. During recent years there has been a sharp decline in the percentage of sawn hardwood in the total amount, a consequence not of an absolute decrease in the quantity and value of the exports of this article, but of a notable increase in exports of finished goods, as referred to above. Thus for example, in 1958, exports of sawn hardwood timber amounted to somewhat more than 40 per cent



In „Exportdrvo“ exports sawn softwood is not nearly such a significant item as sawn hardwood. This is understandable, the standing timber in those areas from which „Exportdrvo“ has been exporting consists mainly of hardwood forests, and has only small areas of softwood forests. Besides, the very large consumption of sawn fir timber within the country has led to the introduction of export quotas, and, consequently, to a decrease in exports. In 1958, this „article“ accounted for 1 per cent of total exports handled by „Exportdrvo“.



Panels and veneers, which may be counted as final products of a lower degree of processing, are showing a reverse tendency compared with sawn timber, that is, a tendency to increase steadily. This especially applies to exports from Yugoslavia. In 1950, exports of these articles were 1.7 per cent, whereas in 1958, this proportion was 5.2 per cent. „Exportdrvo“ handled 38.5 per cent of the total exports of these articles during the past ten years.



Another finished product of a lower degree of processing is flooring. The movement of exports for this item is not uniform, but on the whole it still shows a tendency to increase. From 1950 to 1958, the average annual exports amounted to about 230 millions dinars, which represents 1.3 per cent of the total wood exports. „Exportdrvo“ is by far the biggest exporter of this item in the country, its share during the past ten years being 86 per cent. In recent years, its share has somewhat declined owing to the putting into operation of new plants for the manufacture of floorings in regions in which exports are not handled by „Exportdrvo“.

The most favourable development is shown by the export of furniture taken as a whole, that is suites of furniture, pieces of garniture and chairs. Figures relating to exports for the whole of Yugoslavia, have been given above; a rapid increase is similarly shown by „Exportdrvo“ exports of these items. In 1950, total exports of furniture handled by „Exportdrvo“ were valued at 28 million dinars, whereas in 1954 the figure had risen to more than 200 millions. In 1957, exports exceeded 600 million dinars, and in 1958 these amounted to as much as 800 million dinars. In the current year, „Exportdrvo“ will export various types of furniture to the value of over a hundred thousand dinars, that is slightly over 3.3 million dollars.

Among rough timber products we shall mention only logs, which constitute by far the largest portion. Exports of logs, including also pulpwood and firewood, have been showing a very uneven movement, following the demand on foreign markets. Still, logs both in the total exports of this country and in the exports handled by „Exportdrvo“, continue to play a very important part. The average value of log exports from Yugoslavia are nearing the figure of 3 hundred thousand dinars per annum, of which „Exportdrvo“ usually handles 12 to 15 per cent, or in absolute value, 600 to 700 millions dinars.

As regards products manufactured by chemical treatment of wood, there is, in the first place, the export of tanning extracts, both from oak and chestnut. „Exportdrvo“ has been in recent years by far the biggest exporter of these products



handling over 70 per cent of the total Yugoslav exports of these items.

With regard to the direction of exports, it should be pointed out that „Exportdrvo“ sends goods to a very great number of countries, more than 30. However, among them two markets are outstanding as they absorb about 50 per cent of the total exports. These countries are Italy and Great Britain. Italy is an immediate neighbour of this country and at the same time a rather large importer of timber. Great Britain is the biggest European importer of timber. There is still a great difference in the structure of exports to these two countries. Italy imports sawn timber of hard and softwood as well as large quantities of forest products, but she



is not an important client for finished goods. Imports into Great Britain consist, in the first place, of sawn hardwood timber, especially beech, and of finished products for which that country is still the largest Yugoslav export market.

It is not possible to speak of all importing countries individually, so only some markets, or groups of countries shall be referred to. These, in the first place, are the countries of Western Europe, and the Benelux countries, which are



importing larger quantities of sawn timber. However exports of finished products, are also showing a favourable tendency. In this group France may also be included as an importer of sawn oak timber and chairs, and Sweden as an importer of oak.

Among the countries of Eastern Europe, the first place is taken by the U.S.S.R., the role of which is becoming ever more important in Yugoslav foreign trade and the exports of „Exportdrvo“. The U.S.S.R. imports, in the first place, sawn oak timber, followed by veneers, for which it is the biggest Yugoslav buyer, suites of furniture, floorings, etc. The German Democratic Republic appears as an ever larger buyer of sawn oak timber. Rumania imports large quantities of tanning extracts, which are also exported to other countries of Eastern Europe. Hungary is a big importer, in the first place, of firewood and sawn softwood.

In Central Europe the biggest importer is Western Germany, which regularly holds the third to fifth place in the total exports. That country imports a large number of wooden articles, among which sawn softwood timber and pulpwood are outstanding. Lately, exports of furniture have shown a very favourable trend. Switzerland and Austria must certainly be mentioned, although the quantities imported by these countries are not significant, as well as Spain which appears as a rather important buyer of sawn beech timber.

Among the African countries, by far the most outstanding is UAR, in the first place thanks to large imports by Egypt, which has, during the past few years, become one of the biggest importers of Yugoslav beech timber. Algeria and Morocco should also be mentioned as importers of some significance.

The Near East countries are of interest, but still as prospective markets. The current exports cannot give cause for satisfaction, either by their total value, or by the number of export goods.

America has been purposely left till last since the United States and Canada offer exceptional possibilities for the export

of wood, especially of finished wood products, various types of furniture, household goods and the like. During the past few years, Yugoslav exports to these countries have developed in a very favourable way. Still, our possibilities in the American market are far from being fully exploited.

Neither should other activities of „Exportdrvo“ be omitted since they are very significant within the Yugoslav industry. We shall only stress one of them relating to publicity work at fairs in the country and abroad. „Exportdrvo“ appears regularly as the organizer of exhibitions of all wood industry enterprises from the territory of the People's Republic of Croatia, both in the country and abroad. The best testimony of how successfully „Exportdrvo“ carries out this activity may be found in numerous reports of foreign newspapers which have been commenting very favourably on the manner of presentation and especially of the increasingly improved quality and appearance of Yugoslav products.

With this brief description, we certainly did not intend to give an exhaustive account of the Yugoslav wood industry and wood exports, but to point out that wood still represents one of the most important Yugoslav articles and that „Exportdrvo“ represents the biggest and the most significant Yugoslav export enterprise in this sector.

## Review of INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

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